The biographical consequences of protest and activism: a systematic review and a new typology

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Most research on activist participation has aimed to explain motives to engage in protest and collective action or becoming an activist. The outcomes, for the individual, have been neglected. Therefore we set out to systematically document and organize the psychological and behavioural changes associated with activism into a typology of change. The review contains 57 papers describing changes. Psychological changes identified in the literature can be classified into 19 main forms: marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, consumer behaviour, identity**,** empowerment, radicalization/politicization, legitimacy, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, 'traits', self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge, and home skills. Our analysis highlights the lack of analysis of the relation between type of protest and type of change, and lack of research into the processes behind the various psychological changes. What is needed now is more precise investigation of the relationship between types of protests, social and psychological processes, and psychological outcomes. Further, more longitudinal studies are required to explore the relationship.

Keywords: protest**,** collective action, psychological change, activism, identity

The biographical consequences of protest and activism: a systematic review and a new typology

Most research on protest and activist participation has aimed to explain motives to engage in activism or predictors of activism (e.g., Becker, Tausch & Wagner, 2011; Giugni, 1998, 2008; Klandermans, 1997; Louis, 2009; Simon et al., 1998; Thomas, Mavor, & McGarty, 2012; Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008; Wright, 2009). The outcomes of activism and protest participation, for both society and the individual, are far less well researched (e.g., DeMartini, 1983; Louis, 2009; Thomas & Louis, 2013).

The aim of this paper is to bring together research concerning psychological change through activism and protest. We begin this by a systematic review of existing research to create a typology of psychological changes as a consequence of activism. Previous literature has shown different dimensions of identity change through crowd participation (see Drury & Reicher, 2000) and social movement participation (see Kiecolt, 2000); with this systematic and integrated review we seek to add to the existing literature a comprehensive account of the nature of psychological change(s) occurring through activism. The typology therefore consists of common forms of psychological and behavioural change occurring through activism found in the social science literature, such as changes in personality or becoming more 'radicalized'.

Method

Psychological changes through activism can be both short-term (in the immediate event, such as emotional reactions), medium-term (beyond the event, for example subsequent empowerment), and long-term (stays with the person affecting their lives for years after, such as 'personality' change). As we seek to examine biographical consequences, a criterion for inclusion in this paper is that the change affects the person beyond the immediate

participation. However, we are aware that this excludes for example studies showing that being part of the collective in a crowd can increase positive affect (e.g. Novelli, Drury, Reicher, & Stott, 2013; for a review see Jasper, 1998).

One limitation of researching activism is the difficulty of capturing participants before they actually participate (e.g., Drury & Stott, 2001). This leads to most studies being cross-sectional or retrospective, which in turn has implications for causal claims, as it's not clear if some measured variables are causes or effects of activism. However, in this review, studies are included if the variable can be seen as a consequence/effect of activism.

Search Procedure

To locate literature for this review we searched the database PsycINFO using the keywords: 'collective action' + 'outcomes', 'collective action' + 'consequences', 'activism' + 'outcomes', 'activism' + 'consequences', 'protest' + 'outcomes', 'protest' + 'consequences', 'longitudinal' + 'collective action', 'longitudinal' + 'activism', and 'longitudinal' + 'protest' in keywords, titles and abstracts. In addition we drew upon reference lists in review papers we were already aware of. From the publications meeting the set criterions within social psychology and cognate disciplines (i.e., political science and sociology), and being available through Linköping University Library, further searches were made through the publications' reference lists.

To create the typology, each publication was read thoroughly and the changes found were gathered, compared and classified into common themes. The recurring patterns of change within each theme were clustered and compared with each other, which led to some categories merging and others splitting. On this basis, changes could be classified into 19 themes outlined in the next section. Some of the publications contain more than one outcome of activism, and were therefore classified and presented in more than one category, as seen in Table 1 (below).

Overview of corpus

We identified 57 publications that met our search criteria. The publications ranged from the period 1967 to 2015, with a slight peak in numbers between 2001 and 2010 with 14 publications (1967-80:11, 1981-90:8, 1991-00:11, 2001-10:14, 2011-present:13). The majority of the studies were carried out in Western societies, mainly the US with 39 publications. Only two publications (Friedman, 2009, and MacGillivray, 2005) were (partially) conducted outside the Western geographical region. Some of the publications drew upon the same set of data (for example Fendrich, 1974, 1977). As noted earlier, getting data prior to action taking place is particularly difficult. This can be seen in the publications included in this review where only six contains some element of pre-action data, and only 10 publications draw upon data collected during the action.

The actions covered in the publications vary from the 1960s civil rights activists such as the Kent state sit-in protest, to UK anti-road protests such as the No M11 Link Road campaign, to more recent struggles such as the Sea Shepherd's fight against whaling.

With a neutral judge, we conducted an inter-rater reliability test using Cohen' Kappa concerning the typology on 10 per cent of the papers, which showed a high level of agreement, $\kappa = .898$.

Our aim with this analysis is not to cover all the forms of psychological change that occurs through activism. Neither do we imply that the different forms of changes identified are isolated or mutually exclusive; we acknowledge that there may well be (and probably are) connections between changes. For example, empowerment could be connected with self-confidence, or the acquisition of new skills. In addition, some of the changes could be considered as a change in identity - for example, for the Elaborated Social Identity Model (ESIM: Drury et al., 2003; Drury et al., 2005; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005) empowerment, radicalization and legitimization are dimensions of identity change. The typology simply aims

to capture and bring together the types of psychological change identified in the social science literature in a single location for the first time.

A typology of change

The psychological changes, or biographical consequences, are organized in 19 themes (See Table 1), and presented and organized based on whether they can be seen as an 'objective' change measurable by an observer (marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour), or as 'subjective' self-reported change (identity, empowerment, legitimacy, radicalization/politicization, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, 'traits', self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge and home skills).

/…TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE…/

Each of these categories of different forms of change is explained below.

'Objective' changes

This section outlines the 6 changes that can be seen as 'objective', that is, measurable by an observer: marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour

Marital status

Activism has shown to change relationships (Cherniss, 1972; Fendrich, 1974; Franz & McClelland, 1994; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997; Shriver et al., 2003). For example, participants have been found to be more likely than others in the same cohort to remain single later in life (McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), and those activists that get married do so later (McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). In participants' accounts of participation in the Women's Liberation movement there is evidence of the involvement in the movement leading to equality discussions in their marriages,

subsequently leading to a new division of labour at home concerning house chores (Cherniss, 1972). Participation has also been found to put constraints on the women's marriages due to their commitment to the ideology and struggle. Interviewees that were married prior to their involvement in the Women's Liberation movement were all found to question if they would have married if their involvement had been prior to the marriage (Cherniss, 1972). Also, in his survey of former activists from the Mississippi Freedom Summer project, McAdam (1989) found that the activists were more likely to be divorced 10 years after participation in than non-activists (McAdam, 1989). Participants themselves highlight divorce as a result of their activism: 'the divorce rate is so high. The whole thing changes you' (Shriver et al., 2003, p. 653).

Children

That activists resist nuclear family commitments can be seen not only in marital status but also concerning children. Sherkat and Blocker (1997) studied the impact of participation in student protests and anti-war protests in the late 1960s by comparing protesters and non-protesters, and amongst other things they found that activists were less likely to have children subsequent to participating in protest than control groups (see also Fendrich, 1974), and when they had children they had fewer than non-activists due to their new acquired world-view and resistance to the nuclear family developed through their activism (Franz & McClelland, 1994). Further, former activists have also been found to have children later than non-activists (Dunham & Bengtson, 1994).

Relationship ties

Protests and collective action activities can be seen as an arena for new relationships to blossom (e.g., Gilster, 2012). As can be seen for example in accounts from participants in the anti-roads struggle for George Green, London:

> it's really made a difference to me; I really feel a sense of community in Wanstead. I've lived here for years, I've never felt this sense of community. I've found people I've known for years who don't give tuppence about it but also I've found new friendships with people who are all sorts of different kinds of people, people of different age ranges [ ] because we share a cause and all believe in the same thing, that's what's made a difference (Drury et al., 2003, p. 16).

However, activism can also lead to the erasing of old relationships such as relationship ties with old friends, due to them being 'on the other side'. We get positive feedback from peers in the same 'groups' as ourselves which doesn't put strain on our relationship; however, if the peer is part of the 'opposition' it strains the relationship and may subsequently lead to dissolving of that relationship. This can be seen in accounts from the Gulf War Illness movement where participants were talking about dissolving earlier friendships and social networks:

> You get into a different mode. What's happened is that we've become very un-alike now. My life is going in a different direction than their life is. You don't have much in common. You can still talk about the kids and say, 'This or that is going on in school'. But you get to a point that you are fighting everything. You're fighting for money, you're fighting to survive. (Shriver et al., 2003. p. 653).

Accounts from women involved in the Women's Liberation movement also highlight both the formation of new very strong and close relationships through their participation, and stress and tension affecting personal relationships (Cherniss, 1972).

Work-life/Career

Activism can inspire people to make big changes in their lives such as going from being a 'housewife' to take up further education or careers. Thus, as a consequence of participation in the Gulf War Illness movement, women changed their life-style from being a housewife to becoming independent and in control of their lives (Shriver et al., 2003).

However, there are other changes affecting participants in the work and career area. In comparison with non-activists, former activists are, after participation, found to be more educated (Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), more likely subsequently to choose jobs in the knowledge, social and creative area (Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Fendrich, 1974; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997), and hence have lower income (McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). It has been suggested that there might be a gender difference. Franz and McClelland (1994) found that female former activists did better in the job market than their non-activist counterparts; however, they found former male activists to struggle occupationally compared to non-activists. There is also some evidence that activists enter the job market later (McAdams, 1989). Further, it has been found that a decade and more after participating in protest, activists are likely to change job more frequently than non-activists (McAdam, 1989; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997).

There is a clear pattern of choice of work amongst the former activists. Fendrich and Tarleau (1973) found that 54 per cent of the former activists were more likely to take up an academic profession and 29 per cent were employed in social services and creative occupations.

Extended involvement

Another form of change is extended involvement in other causes and struggles (Drury et al., 2003; Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Sherkat &

Blocker, 1997; Shriver et al., 2003; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). During and after involvement in protest, participants sometimes extend their cause to include other struggles as part of their activism. Drury and colleagues found in their study of the No M11 Link Road Campaign in London that, some participants in the struggle for George Green changed from being 'local' activists to see themselves as a part of a global movement, and subsequently got involved in anti-capitalist protests (Drury et al., 2003). Further, van Dyke and Dixon (2013) found that many of their participants involved in the AFL-CIO's Union Summer programme (an intensive labour-organizing internship) subsequently got involved in other issues as well, such as animal rights, opposition and death penalty.

Consumer behaviour

The literature concerning the consequences of protest and activism reveals practical changes in participants' personal habits as well, such as change concerning consumer behaviour (Stuart et al., 2013). In accounts from activists involved in the Sea Shepherd Conservation Movement, evidence of changing consumer behaviour concerning diet was apparent. Participants changed their consumer behaviour to becoming vegan, vegetarian or at least decreasing their consumption of meat (Stuart et al., 2013).

'Subjective' changes

In addition to the objective changes there are 13 'subjective' self-reported changes: identity, empowerment, legitimacy, radicalization/politicization, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, 'traits', self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge and home skills. These 13 'subjective changes are outlines below.

Identity

Many of the changes counted for in this review could be treated as a change in identity – for example, for the ESIM empowerment, radicalization and legitimization are dimensions of identity change (Drury et al., 2003; Drury et al., 2005; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005).

However, since many studies refer simply to 'self' or 'identity' changing as a consequence of activism (e.g., Klandermans, Sabucedo, Rodriguez, & de Weerd, 2002; Profitt, 2001; Stuart, Thomas, Donaghue & Russell, 2013), we have included it as a separate theme in the typology. Klandermans et al. (2002) found in their three-wave interview study with farmers in the Netherlands and Spain that identity processes generates action preparedness, which in turn generates action participation. However, alongside with these findings, they also found that participation strengthens collective identity, which in turn affected participants' sense of personal identity.

Profitt (2001) found that, through their struggles with contradiction and conflict, women campaigners against violence towards women developed alternative 'senses of self' (p. 91). They came to identify with the networks they belonged to and thereby also internalized an analysis of the world that drew upon that category of feminist/anti-oppressive identity.

Empowerment

Activism has also been shown to have great impact on our beliefs that we can achieve something collectively, the belief that the world is changeable. Thus, activism has an effect on us in the form of empowerment (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Cable, 1992; Cherniss, 1972; Drury & Reicher, 1999; Drury & Reicher, 2005; Drury, Cocking, Beale, Hanson & Rapley, 2005; Shriver et al., 2003; Tausch & Becker, 2012), which has been defined as 'that positive social-psychological transformation, related to a sense of being able to (re)shape the social world, that takes place for members of subordinate groups who overturn (or at least challenge) existing relations of dominance' (Drury & Reicher, 2009, p.708). As Drury and Reicher (2005) show in accounts from the No M11 Link Road campaign, empowerment can endure after the event. In the study of the women in the Gulf War Illness movement Shriver et al. (2003) found that the most significant impact of participation was the one of empowerment. In her study of the environmental protest organization Yellow Creek

Concerned Citizens, Cable (1992) found that the empowerment that arose from taking on male tasks further affected the participants' lives by challenging the power structures outside of the struggle. The participants brought the empowerment with them into their personal lives challenging the family structure in their own homes. And surveying contemporary student protests in Germany to examine emotional responses and future action intentions, Tausch and Becker (2012) found a connection between pride after success and action intentions, via increased efficacy perceptions.

However, just as there is evidence for increased empowerment through activism there is also evidence showing the other side of the coin, disempowerment. Drury and Reicher (2000, 2005) found that experiencing defeat by a more dominant group - for example when the police evicted protesters and felled a tree that people were trying to save - can bring about disempowerment. In accounts from eighteen of 37 interviewed experienced self-defined activists, Drury et al. (2005) found references to feelings of discouragement, demotivation, upset, fear, and disappointment. Disempowerment was also evident in interviews with participants at an anti-austerity demonstration, and a demonstration in support of striking steel workers, both in Greece (Evripidou & Drury, 2013).

Radicalization/politicization

A frequently reported aspect of psychological change in the literature concerns the change in beliefs and norms, in some cases to become politically radical, or at least more liberal or progressive (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000; Drury et al., 2003; Dunham & Bengtson, 1992; Fendrich, 1974; Fendrich, 1977; Fendrich & Smith, 1980; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; Flacks, 1967; Hirsch, 1990; Marwell et al., 1987; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Profitt 2001; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997; Thomas, McGarty & Louis, 2014). Radicalization can be defined as 'change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in direction that increasingly justify intergroup

violence and demand sacrifice in defence of the ingroup' (McCauley & Moskaenko, 2008, p. 416). Politicization occurs through a perception of shared grievances, and a common enemy in the struggle for power (e.g., Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

In a cross sectional survey study with former civil rights activists, former students who had been involved in government politics, and students with no involvement in politics during the early 60s, Fendrich (1974) found that 11 years after their involvement student activism had a direct effect on radicalism. Further, in a study carried out a year after the killings of students by the National Guard in Kent State, participants in the demonstrations were found to be highly radicalized as a result of their participation (Adamek & Lewis, 1973). The activists were also more likely to participate in further collective action, were more anti-government, and showed an increase in their left political orientation. For example, on the question 'Have KSU events made you more or less violence-oriented than you were before the events?' 27 per cent of the activists answered 'much more' compared to eight per cent of the observers, and six per cent of the non-attenders (Adamek & Lewis, 1973, p. 344). Also, in the same sample, participants present at the demonstration increased in their participation in civil disobedience from zero before the 4th of May events 1970 to 44 per cent after the event, and from 11 per cent to 94 per cent concerning participation in violent confrontation (Adamek & Lewis, 1975). Based on a longitudinal study in the context of student protests over tuition fees in Germany, Tausch and Becker (2012) show that the radicalization, in turn, can lead to a disidentification with the broader in-group.

Legitimacy

Another psychological change is in definitions of legitimacy - of action, concerning both self and others (Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Hirsch, 1990; Marwell, Aiken & Demerath, 1987; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997). Legitimacy can be seen to change in views of actions related to the own group as well as in relation to other groups

seen to support the existing order. Drury and Reicher (2000) found during the No M11 Link Road campaign that none of the protesters they interviewed viewed the police as neutral after the eviction from George Green; many changed in their views of the outgroup (police) to see them as an illegitimate force. The change into seeing the outgroup as illegitimate has also been shown as decline in trust of authorities and mainstream politics (Adamek & Lewis, 1973; Marwell et al., 1987; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997).

In addition to the change in views of the outgroup, research has also shown a change in view of legitimacy regarding own group's actions, the 'ends justify the means' (Adamek & Lewis, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2005). After taking part in the Kent-state sit-in protest, protesters saw more 'extreme' actions as legitimate, and hence willing to take part in these, such as civil disobedience (Adamek & Lewis, 1975). Similar results were found amongst the participants in the eviction of George Green (Drury & Reicher, 2005). Additionally, Drury and Reicher (2005) found that people who were defined as 'non-protesters' moved towards actions seen as legitimate by the 'activist-community' in supporting the cause, such as participating in taking down fencing and entering restricted area, hence changing their view of legitimate action and behaviour.

Sustained commitment

Studies have found that activists persevere (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Downton & Wehr, 1998; Einwohner, 2002; Fendrich, 1977; Fendrich & Smith, 1980; Fischer & Boehnke, 2004; Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979; Stewart, Settles, & Winter, 1998; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013) more than non-activists through their activism (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989). In a study of 223 civil rights activists from 1965 that participated in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led by Martin Luther King Jr., Marwell et al. (1987) interviewed participants four years later, and again in 1984. In this panel

data, they found that the participants had maintained their commitment to activism and their ideological beliefs.

Self-esteem

Activism has shown to increase participants' level of self-esteem (Becker, 2012; Cherniss, 1972; Tropp & Brown, 2004). In one study, participants in the Women's Liberation movement were interviewed and compared with a control group; results showed that the women in the movement had higher self-esteem than those in the control (Cherniss, 1972). Further, Cherniss (1972) argues that participation in the movement was beneficial as it was an opportunity for personal growth and actualization. For example, one of his participants talked about how participation provided her with a framework for who she was and how this increased her self-esteem: 'when she redefined her identity in Women's Liberation terms, many of the personal conflicts she had dealt with in treatment became clarified and easier to resolve /…/ she felt better about herself as a person' (p. 119). Cherniss (1972) sums it up by saying, 'the woman in Women's Liberation often seems to experience a new sense of wholeness and integration as she redefines her self and the world around her' (p. 125). In addition, increased self-esteem has been shown to be linked to the opportunity for social creativity as activism contexts offer a platform to develop strategies to cope with disadvantage (Becker 2012). In their panel study, Kaplan and Liu (2000), found a connection between social movement participation and self-enhancement. They distributed a questionnaire to 7th graders, and then again to the same sample when they were in 9th grade, and additionally conducted an interview with the participants in their twenties. By measuring self-enhancement (i.e., reduction in self-derogation) a positive relationship was found between participating in protest activities at the time of attending 7th grade and reduced self-derogation in early adulthood (Kaplan & Liu, 2000).

General well-being

Participation in protest and activism has been shown to have a positive effect on different measures of *well-being* (Boehnke & Wong, 2011; Cherniss, 1972; Evripidou & Drury, 2013; Foster, 2013, 2014, 2015; Gilster, 2012; Klar & Kasser, 2009; Páez, Basabe, Ubillos, & González-Castro, 2007). Relatedly, people engaged in activism have been found to have fewer personal worries and experience greater happiness later in life (Boehnke & Wong, 2011), and participants with a history of psychiatric problems have been found to be able to deal with those inner conflicts, where previous psychiatric treatment has failed, as a result of participation in activism (Cherniss, 1972). Well-being has also been shown to be greater in those who use a more angry and direct confrontation rather than indirect confrontation in their action (Foster, 2013); and defining the tasks as actually doing something and being active, rather than inactive, has been shown to increase well-being in participants (Foster, 2014).

In the aftermath of the March 11th Madrid bombing in 2004, Páez et al. (2007) surveyed students and their relatives three times during a period of two months after the bombings. They found that people who participated in demonstrations and experienced the positive emotional climate reported greater social support and positive affect. Hence, participation had a positive effect on coping. Also, participants have been found to show greater subjective vitality or 'flourishing' than those with non-activist behaviours (Klar & Kasser, 2009).

However, there are not only positive effects for well-being that can arise from activism. Activism can also cause well-being to deteriorate in the form of burnout (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Einwohner, 2002; Lawson & Barton, 1980). Burnout refers to 'a state of emotional exhaustion caused by excessive psychological and emotional demands made on people helping people' (Jackson, Schwab & Schuler, 1986, p. 630). Lawson and Barton (1980) found that as many as 38 per cent experienced the rewards of their participation less than the costs, which resulted in burnout. Research has also highlighted strategies that activists develop to

avoid getting burned out. Einwohner (2002) found that a group of animal rights activists, who suffered burnout as a result of constant campaign failure, managed the burnout by focusing on the effectiveness of their work, such as raising the issue to the wider society, even in the bleakest of times.

'Traits'

Research shows that personal psychological characteristics, or 'traits', differ between participants that have been involved in activism and those who haven't (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Nassi, 1981; Whittaker & Watts, 1971). For example, Whittaker and Watts (1971) found that student activists, who were active during the mid-1960s, scored higher than non-activists on cognitive flexibility, autonomy, and impulse expression, all measures of personality. Former student activists (i.e., those arrested during a sit-in in 1964) from the Berkeley free speech movement described themselves as more moody, amusing, and likely to show off than government members and a random sample of people who had been students during 1964 (Nassi, 1981). Nassi (1981) also found that the former student activists were higher in moral reasoning. From the same data set, Abramowitz and Nassi (1981) showed that 15 years after participation, the former student activists, who were still active, valued being helpful, being informed, and being worrying more than the non-active former student activists.

Self-confidence

A psychological outcome found in the research on activism that might be considered a personality change is increase in self-confidence (Cable, 1992; Cherniss, 1972; Macgillivray, 2005; Profitt, 2001; Shriver et al., 2003; Whittaker & Watts, 1971). Shriver et al. (2003) found in their interviews with twenty women activists involved in the Gulf War Illness movement that through their participation they had gained self-confidence in the form of enhanced belief in themselves through taking on and carrying out 'male tasks' such as paying

bills and being the sole provider. Or as Cherniss (1972) describes it, ‘activism forced the women to depart from traditional female behaviors. The change generated higher levels of self-confidence and a sense of efficacy’ (p. 651). Studies also describe how this new-found self-confidence allows participants that previously haven’t spoken up to take the stage in public settings (Macgillivray, 2005).

In her interviews with women survivors of abuse involved in collective struggles against gender violence, Profitt (2001) found that the women activists, through the opportunities to engage in collective struggle, could find a way to make sense of their lives and thereby changed in their consciousness and subjectivity, subsequently increasing their confidence in themselves. She found that this was made possible by ‘politicizing the personal’ (p. 97).

Religion

Religious orientation, or level of engaging in religion, has been shown to differ between activists and control groups. Subsequent to participation in activism, participants in the student and anti-war movement were less attached to, and held less traditional, religious orientations (Sherkat, 1998; Sherkat & Blocker, 1997); and free speech activists from the ‘60s differed over time from non-activists and were self-identified in their current religious affiliation as Jewish, agnostic, or atheist (Nassi, 1981). Sherkat (1998) found high school seniors in the Youth Parent Socialization Panel Study (YPSPS) to have identical religious participation. However, 8 years later, participation in religious activity was significantly reduced for those who had participated in protest. Further, even though there was a slight reduction in the difference between religious participation for activists and non-activists at the age of 35 the difference was still significant (Sherkat, 1998).

Organizing

There sometimes occurs an acquisition or improvement of organizing abilities. Protest and activism can offer participants a platform to learn and develop new skills, and one of these skills found in several studies is organizing (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Friedman, 2009; Macgillivray, 2005; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). Participants in the 1964 Mississippi Freedom summer project used the organizing and tactical skills they had acquired in the project in subsequent participation in other movements (McAdam, 1989). People who had never organized anything, or had any knowledge about how to organize, have the opportunity to acquire this knowledge in the protest context. Friedman (2009) identified the development of organizational skills in the Chinese labour movement participators after some time in the movement, for example:

> It was evident that he had never organized anything before, because he believed that he would just go by himself from room to room collecting signatures. Emma quickly pointed out that management would be unlikely to listen to any demands unless a significant portion of the 10,000+ workers in the factory had signed the letter. Mr. Zhou understood, and began asking her about organizing strategies for a petition drive (Friedman, 2009, p. 210).

Knowledge

The possibility to obtain knowledge has also shown to be of importance in participants' lives subsequent to the action (Klandermans, van der Toorn, & van Steklenburg, 2008; Lawson & Barton, 1980; Macgillivray, 2005; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013). For example, Van Dyke and Dixon (2013) found that knowledge about labour issues was passed on through

educational training, workshops, day-to-day, and conversations with other participants and labour activists. This knowledge has subsequent importance to activists as they learn how political institutions work (Klandermans et al., 2008), or how to deal with bureaucracy (Macgillivray, 2005), which then can be used later or in other actions.

Home skills

There is also some evidence that participants learn skills through activism that they can use in their everyday life (Cable, 1992; Shriver et al., 2003). Shriver et al. (2003) found that the women in the Gulf War Illness movement acquired new skills that they had prior to the participation seen as male tasks, such as paying bills.

Discussion

As described above, the review of papers on consequences of activism and protest participation resulted in a 19-category typology describing a range of behavioural and psychological changes. The 'subjective' changes (identity, empowerment, radicalization/politicization, legitimacy, sustained commitment, self-esteem, general well-being, 'traits', self-confidence, religion, organizing, knowledge, and home skills) could perhaps all be regarded as aspects or forms of identity change, whereas the 'objective' changes (marital status, children, relationship ties, work-life/career, extended involvement, and consumer behaviour) might be seen as effects of such identity changes.

Three key issues for Discussion arise from this review: first, the need for longitudinal designs; second, the question of underlying process; and third, the issue of transferability of results.

Addressing study design

To examine psychological changes through activism we ideally need data over time. However, as can be seen in Table 1, only 21 of the 57 studies in the review employ a longitudinal design. This, of course, has implications for causal claims. Moreover, a

longitudinal design in itself may not be sufficient if the timing of the first data collection is too late. Most of the studies in the literature included in this review rely on data collected after the onset of activism, that is after the participants have engaged in protests. As shown in Table 1, only six out of our 57 papers can be regarded as containing pre-participation measurements.

To illustrate the problem of causality: it could be that people with a creative side to their identity are more prone to activism, rather than choosing to work in a creative area being a change due to participation in activist activity (e.g., Braungart & Braungart, 1990; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989). Likewise, it is hard to state whether the change occurs due to activism or before. For example, did Cherniss's (1972) participants in the Women's Liberation movement in the 1960s join the movement as a consequence of a change in their view of the nuclear family, or did they change their view during the campaign? Some attempts to gather pre- and post-measurements have been made through studies with an experimental design (e.g., Becker, 2012; Klar & Kasser, 2009 study 3). We acknowledge the difficulty of identifying potential activists or protest-participants before they become active, and this remains a strategic challenge for research of psychological consequences of activism.

There is also a great variety of length of the studies with a longitudinal design. For example, concerning changes in general well-being, similar results have been found in studies relying on data gathered during a period of 28 days (Foster, 2013) and in those where data was gathered with 21 years between the waves (Boehnke & Wong, 2011). Continuing with general well-being as an example, the category also contains cross-sectional studies that find similar results (e.g. Cherniss, 1972; Klar & Kasser, 2009). In this case, we can be fairly certain of the well-being as an enduring psychological change as both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies offer similar results. However, the case becomes more difficult when we turn to categories such as 'traits' (Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981; Nassi, 1981; Whittaker &Watts,

1971) or relationship ties (Cherniss, 1972; Drury et al., 2003; Gilster, 2012) where the studies all rely on data from cross-sectional studies.

Further, the need for more longitudinal studies is of importance since some changes are more likely to be long-term effects than others. It is fairly certain that a person who attends a protest once won't have a life-style transformation in the same way as the participants in Friedman's (2009) study of the Chinese Labour movement, Shriver and colleagues' (2003) women in the Gulf Illness movement, or the participants in the Gay-Straight Allience (McGillilvray, 2005). However, it is possible that the single protest participant may on some level experience an increase in general well-being more or less comparable to that documented in long-time peace activists (Boehnke & Wong, 2011) or animal rights activists (Einwohner, 2002).

Addressing process

If we assume for the moment that, for all the design flaws of the papers in this review, there is evidence of psychological changes occurring as a result of participation in protest and activism, the next question is why. While a number of outcomes have been documented, the actual process of psychological change through activism remains somewhat under-examined. Among those studies that have looked at process, there are a number of theoretical concepts that have been used to account for some of the types of changes described above. The most prevalent concepts in the literature are *social interaction* (e.g., Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003; Kiecolt, 2000; Klandermans et al., 2008; McAdam, 1989; Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013) and *identity* (e.g., Barr & Drury, 2009; Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003; Klar & Kasser, 2009; Stuart et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2014). The term 'interaction' covers different phenomena, and indeed given the variety of changes, it may be that different underlying mechanisms are leading to different kinds of psychological outcomes. For example,

intragroup interaction is often conceptualized in terms of 'discussion' (see for example Hirsch, 1990; Shriver et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2012); through such communication with others involved in the protest or collective event we get a sense of support (Shriver et al., 2003), which in turn makes us feel less alone in our view of the world.

Just as interacting with our own group can result in psychological change, the interaction with other groups, outgroups, has been shown to be factor in some of the psychological changes described in this paper. Adamek and Lewis (1973, 1975) found that the experience of violence from an outgroup (in this case the police) was positively associated with radicalization. The protesters that had experienced social control violence during the Kent State sit-in protest in 1970 were also found to be more radical afterwards then a control group. The ESIM (e.g., Drury & Reicher, 2000) provides some detail on such processes. It suggests that asymmetry in different groups' perspectives (on legitimate conduct), and asymmetry in power (e.g., the police having the organizational resources to impose their perspective on protesters) are the conditions for change. The *dynamics* of change occur where police action is seen not only as illegitimate but also as treating everyone in a protest alike (e.g., treating everyone as 'trouble-makers'); such action changes ingroup identity boundaries to become more inclusive. As this kind of example shows, interaction and identity processes may be complementary concepts in explanations of psychological change to activism (Drury & Reicher, 2000, 2005; Drury et al., 2003; Thomas et al., 2014).

Addressing transferability of historically specific changes

Even if we accept both that the changes claimed in the literature are genuine and not artefactual and that interaction and identity processes underlie them, there is still a question about the transferability of some of these phenomena given the specific nature of a particular protest, and the time in which it was active. This becomes very clear when we turn our focus to changes in 'traits', religion, marital status, children, and the majority of results in work-

life/career (apart from Shriver et al., 2003). All these types of change are based on studies of 1960s activists at a time when society itself was changing (e.g., Dunham & Bengtson, 1994; Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Whittaker & Watts, 1971). The focus on a specific cohort of activists, and a specific period in time highlights the issues with transferability of these categories. Another question is whether such changes might occur to participants in a contemporary struggle, such as 'Sea Shepherd Conservation Movement' studied by Stuart and colleagues (2013)? This in turn raises the question of the connection between the specific nature of a protest and type of change. It is likely that different types of protests and causes bring about different types of psychological change. The change in diet found by Stuart and colleagues (2013) is probably cause-specific and not transferable for example to the protesting farmers in the Netherlands and Spain studied by Klandermans and colleagues (2002), or in the experimentally designed study in context of tuition fees examined by Becker and colleagues (2012).

Further, it is not only different causes but different types of activist activity that are likely to bring about different types of psychological change. Events involving violent clashes with the police such as the Kent State sit-in protest May 4th 1970 (Adamek & Lewis, 1973, 1975) or the eviction of George Green (Drury & Reicher, 2000) seem to foster other changes (e.g., radicalization) than the manifestations and administrative actions in the Gulf Illness movement (Shriver et al., 2003). To properly address these issues concerning transferability, we need studies exploring different types of causes, different types of actions, different types of psychological changes, and the connections between the three.

Conclusion and future directions

Our aim with this paper was to gather, compare, contrast and unpack the psychological changes through protest and activism identified in previous literature and create a typology of the outcomes. We have in this paper presented a new typology gathering various

psychological changes organized into 19 categories of outcomes of participation in protest an activism. Most of the studies included in this review lack measures taken prior to the onset of activism. We also highlight need for more pre-participation and longitudinal studies to examine the issue outlined about considering change or cause. Such designs are also needed to determine when the change occurs and how enduring it is.

As noted in the introduction of this paper, we do not claim that the forms of change identified are necessarily mutually exclusive. It is likely that for example empowerment and self-confidence can function in a reciprocal manner affecting each other; and identity change is likely to produce behavioural changes (e.g., in buying habits). Nevertheless, we think these categories are analytically separable and we have shown (through an inter-rater reliability test) that our typology is robust. This review is not intended to exhaust all the types of change noted through activism, since journalistic, historical and biographical studies also describe various psychological changes. For example, life-style changes have been noted in some studies. Accounts from miners' wives involved in the 1984-85 UK strike shows a change in style of clothes to a more unisex inspired fashion (Salt & Layzell, 1985). The review is a comprehensive account of changes identified in social psychology and cognate social science disciplines.

Finally, most of the literature on psychological change through activism describes the change but less of a focus is the *process* of change. The key questions missing in the existing literature, and what needs to be done next is to examine the relationship between the types outcomes, the process and the form of activism, protest, and collective action. Part of this is also to conduct prospective and longitudinal research, which there is a great lack of in the existing literature within the psychological discipline.

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Table 1. Publications on biographical consequences of protest and activism

Change	Author/s	Method	N	Length	Type	Pre/Post
Marital status	Cherniss, 1972	Cross-sectional Interview	20		1960s, Women's Liberation movement	Post
	Fendrich, 1974	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	105		Florida state university - civil rights activists	Post
	Franz & McClelland, 1994	Longitudinal Interview	62	10 years	1960s activists	Post
	McAdam, 1989	Longitudinal Questionnaire	330	20 years	1964 Mississippi freedom summer camp	Pre/Post
	Nassi, 1981	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	83		Berkeley Free speech movement	Post
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	Longitudinal Interview	1135	9 years	1960s activists	Post
	Shriver, et al., 2003	Cross-sectional Participant observation Interview Documents	20	*Not specified*	Gulf War Illness movement	Post
Children	Dunham & Bengtson, 1994	Longitudinal Questionnaire	484	14 years	1960s activists	Post
	Fendrich, 1974	*See Marital status*				
	Franz & McClelland, 1994	*See Marital status*				
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*				
Relationship ties	Cherniss, 1972	*See Marital status*				
	Drury, et al., 2003	Cross-sectional Ethnologic framework (interviews,	*Not specified*		No M11 link road protest	During

		audio recordings, printed material)				
	Gilster, 2012	Cross-sectional Survey	3105		Neighbourhood activism	Post
	Shriver, et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				
Work-life/career	Braungart & Braungart, 1990	Cross-sectional Interviews	24		Left-wing and right-wing 1960s activists	Post
	Fendrich, 1974	*See Marital status*				
	Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	105		1960s civil rights	Post
	Franz & McClelland, 1994	*See Marital status*				
	McAdam, 1989	*See Marital status*				
	Nassi, 1981	*See Marital status*				
	Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979	Longitudinal Questionnaire	15	11 years	Berkeley Free speech movement	Post
	Profitt, 2001	Longitudinal Interviews	11	2 years	Anti-Violence against women	Post
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*				
	Shriver et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				
	Whittaker & Watts, 1971	Cross-sectional questionnaire	338		Student activists, student strike	Post
Extended involvement	Drury et al., 2003	*See Relationship ties*				
	Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988	Longitudinal questionnaires	85	14 years	1960s activists	Post

	Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973	*See Work-life/career*				
	McAdam, 1989	*See Marital status*				
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*				
	Shriver et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				
	Van Dyke & Dixon, 2013	Cross-sectional Interviews Printed material Participant observation	23		AFL-CIO's Union summer student internship program	Post
Consumer behaviour	Stuart et al., 2013	Cross-sectional Interviews Web-commentary	6		The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society	Post
Identity	Becker et al., 2011	Cross-sectional Experimental	101		Tuition fees	Post
	Drury et al., 2003	*See Relationship ties*				
	Drury et al., 2005	Cross-sectional Interview	37		UK criminal justice bill 1990s, animal rights, anti-nuclear, socialists, communists, anarchists	Post
	Drury & Reicher, 2000	Cross-sectional Participant observation		2 days	No M11 link road	During
	Drury & Reicher, 2005	Cross-sectional Interview Participant observation Written material Video	37		No M11 link road protests	(During) Post
	Klandermans, et al., 2002	Longitudinal Interview	415	1 year	Farmers	(Pre) Post

	Profitt, 2001	*See Work-life/career*				
	Stuart, et al., 2013	*See Consumer behaviour*				
Empowerment	Blackwood & Louis, 2012	Longitudinal Questionnaire (online)	71	1 month	Peace movement	Post
	Cable, 1992	*See Self-confidence*				
	Cherniss, 1972	*See Marital status*				
	Drury & Reicher, 1999	Cross-sectional Ethnographic framework (interview, printed material, video, questionnaire)	46		Anti-poll tax demonstration	During
	Drury & Reicher, 2000	*See Identity*				
	Drury & Reicher, 2005	*See Identity*				
	Drury, et al., 2005	*See identity*				
	Evripidou & Drury, 2013	*See General well-being*				
	Gilster, 2012	*See Relationship ties*				
	Shriver, et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				
	Tausch & Becker, 2012	Longitudinal Experimental	98	7 months	Tuition fees	Post
Radicalization	Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981	*See 'Traits'*				
	Adamek & Lewis, 1973	Cross-sectional Interviews	233		Kent state sit-in protesters, May 4th 1970	Post
	Adamek & Lewis, 1975	Cross-sectional	208		Kent state sit-in protesters, May	Post

	Interviews			4th 1970	
Becker et al., 2011	*See Identity*				
Drury & Reicher, 2000	*See Identity*				
Drury et al., 2003	*See Relationship ties*				
Dunham & Bengtson, 1992	Longitudinal Questionnaires	1331	14 years	1960s	Post
Fendrich, 1974	*See Marital status*				
Fendrich, 1977	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	100		1960s civil rights movement	Post
Fendrich & Smith, 1980	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	186		1960s civil rights movement (black students)	Post
Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973	*See Work-life/career*				
Flacks, 1967	Cross-sectional Interviews Questionnaire	160		1960s (student movement)	Post
Hirsch, 1990	Cross-sectional Interview Participant observation Questionnaire	200	3 weeks	1985 Columbia University divestment protest	During
Marwell et al., 1987	Longitudinal Interview	145	20 years	1960s	Post
McAdam, 1989	*See Marital status*				
Nassi, 1981	*See Marital status*				
Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979	*See work-life/career*				
Profitt, 2001	*See Work-life/career*				

	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*			
	Thomas et al., 2014	Experimental	114	Animal welfare activists	Post
Legitimacy	Adamek & Lewis, 1973	*See Radicalization*			
	Adamek & Lewis, 1975	*See Radicalization*			
	Drury & Reicher, 2000	*See Identity*			
	Drury & Reicher, 2005	*See Identity*			
	Hirsch, 1990	*See Radicalization*			
	Marwell et al., 1987	*See Radicalization*			
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*			
Sustained commitment	Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981	*See 'Traits'*			
	Downton & Wehr, 1998	*See General well-being*			
	Einwohner, 2002	*See General well-being*			
	Fendrich, 1977	*See Radicalization*			
	Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988	*See Extended involvement*			
	Fendrich & Tarleau, 1973	*See Work-life/career*			
	Fischer & Boehnke, 2004	Cross-sectional Written material (from participants, newspapers etc)		Non-violent anti nuclear	Post
	Marwell et al.,	*See Radicalization*			

	1987					
	McAdam, 1989	*See Marital status*				
	Nassi & Abramowitz, 1979	*See Work-life/career*				
	Stewart et al., 1998	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	271		1960s activists	Post
	Tausch & Becker, 2012	*See Empowerment*				
Self-esteem	Becker, 2012	Experimental	95		Students	
	Cherniss, 1972	*See Marital status*				
	Kaplan & Liu, 2000	Longitudinal Questionnaire Interview	4935	10 years	*Not specified*	Pre/Post
	Tropp & Brown, 2004	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	287		Undergrads and community women	Post
General well-being	Boehnke & Wong, 2011	Longitudinal Questionnaire	220	21 years	Peace movement	Pre/Post
	Cherniss, 1972	*See Marital status*				
	Downton & Wehr, 1998	Cross-sectional Interview	30		Peace activists	Post
	Einwohner, 2002	Longitudinal Observations		3 years	Animal rights activists	(During) Post
		Cross-sectional Interview	14			
	Evripidou & Drury, 2013	Cross-sectional Interviews	19		Anti austerity + Support steelworkers strike	Pre/Post
	Foster, 2013	Longitudinal Diary reports	49	28 days	Women's discrimination	(During) /Post
	Foster, 2014	Experimental	185		Women's discrimination	
	Foster, 2015	Experimental	93	3 days	Women's discrimination	Pre/Post

	Gilster, 2012	*See Relationship ties*				
	Klar & Kasser, 2009	Cross-sectional Survey Experimental*	341 (study 1) 718 (study 2) 296* (study 3)			Post
	Jackson et al., 1986	Longitudinal Questionnaire	248	1 year	Members of National Education Association	Post
	Lawson & Barton, 1980	Fieldwork Observations Written material	143	5 years	Tenant movement	Post
	Páez, et. al., 2007	Longitudinal Questionnaire	661	2 months	March-Eleven 2004 train bombings in Madrid	Post
'Traits'	Abramowitz & Nassi, 1981	Cross-sectional Questionnaire	40		Berkeley Free speech movement,	Post
	Nassi, 1981	*See Marital status*				
	Whittaker & Watts, 1971	*See Work-life/career*				
Self-confidence	Cable, 1992	Longitudinal Participant observation Interview	16	3 years	Working class, community based environmental protest organization	Post
	Cherniss, 1972	*See Marital status*				
	Macgillivray, 2005	Longitudinal Participant observation Interview Questionnaire	6	5 months	Gay-Straight Allience	(During) Post
	Profitt, 2001	*See Work-life/career*				
	Shriver, et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				
	Whittaker & Watts, 1971	*See Work-life/career*				

Religion	Nassi, 1981	*See Marital status*				
	Sherkat, 1998	Longitudinal Interview	1135	17 years	1960s activists	Post
	Sherkat & Blocker, 1997	*See Marital status*				
Organizing	Downton & Wehr, 1998	*See General well-being*				
	Friedman, 2009	Cross-sectional Participant observation Interviews	20	1 year	Chinese Labour movement	During
	Macgillivray, 2005	*See Self-confidence*				
	McAdam, 1989	*See Marital status*				
	Van Dyke & Dixon (2013)	*See Extended involvement*				
Knowledge	Klandermans et al., 2008	Cross-sectional Questionnaire Interviews	306		Immigrants	Post
	Lawson & Barton, 1980	*See General well-being*				
	Macgillivray, 2005	*See Self-confidence*				
	Van Dyke & Dixon (2013)	*See Extended involvement*				
Home skills	Cable, 1992	*See Self-confidence*				
	Shriver et al., 2003	*See Marital status*				

Method = design of study
N= number of participants. In some cases there where more than one method of data collection (e.g., interview + questionnaire), these have been counted as separate if it's not known that they are the same participants.
Length= length of time between data point one and the last data collection point.
Type = 'type' of activist affiliation, ideology, event
Pre/Post = data collection before or after onset of activism/event.